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Conceptual and Contextual Problems in the Interpretation of Contemporary Russian Ultranationalism

In this article I describe and analyze certain aspects of the ideologies of two radically nationalistic groups in the Russian Federation (RF) in the 1990s. At the same time, I attempt to classify these ideologies and designate them terminologically. Although the corresponding organizations are examined in the specific context of post-Soviet conditions, in characterizing their ideologies I use, insofar as this is possible, concepts and definitions that have been developed by the social sciences outside Russia—that is, mainly in the West. To avoid such specifically Russian constructs as, for instance, "national-patriotism"[1] or "neo-national-Bolshevism,"[2] I try to classify these groups on the basis of comparative analysis. Thus, the article continues the discussion

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Section numbers omitted for this edition.—Ed.

of the main scientific terms used in the comparative study of contemporary Western and Russian antidemocratism started ten years ago in the journal *Politicheskie issledovaniia.*[3] Later, articles on this theme were published in some other Russian-language journals,[4] including, in *Voprosy filosofii,* a critique of the expression "conservative revolution."[5] Articles that interpret the ideologies of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) and of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF) from a comparative point of view are in press.

The goal of the project is to examine post-Soviet Russian antidemocratism in the context of international research into right-wing extremism and to apply the conceptual apparatus created by international social science to the political situation in Russia. On the one hand, the specific character of post-Soviet antidemocratism must certainly not be overlooked; on the other, general concepts developed initially for a Western context must not be overextended. The extent to which this is achieved will determine the success of the present investigation.

In this article I examine two organizations over the following time intervals:

—Russian National Unity (henceforth RNU), under the leadership of Aleksandr Barkashov between 1990 and 2000; and

—the Arctogaia [Arktogeia] historical-religious association and the Eurasia [Evraziia] all-Russian political social movement under the leadership of Aleksandr Dugin between 1991 and 2001.

Both organizations bear, in greater or lesser degree, the imprint of their leaders, who at the same time are or were their chief ideologues. This explains the frequent smooth transitions from analysis of an organization to analysis of its leader.

For both methodological and pragmatic reasons, the conceptual apparatus used is determined to a large extent by the interpretation of fascism presented by the British historian of political ideas Roger D. Griffin.[6] The taxonomy that Griffin proposes for designating various types of right-wing extremism is not only clearer and less contradictory than other conceptual systems of the same kind. The constructs and metaphors that he devises or adapts, separately or in collaboration with other authors, are also easier and more suitable to apply in empirical investigation than most of the numerous earlier and often rather unwieldy definitions of fascism and of right-wing extremism or radicalism.[7] The praise that Griffin's interpretation of fascism has received is therefore well-deserved.[8]

Moreover, the term "fascism"—as a general concept applicable to Russia—is a popular one (perhaps too popular), so avoiding use of this concept would not correspond to the realities of public and academic discourse in Russia.[9] I

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may add that Griffin's interpretation has already become known to a certain extent in Russia,[10] and some of his texts have been translated into Russian.[11] His entire conceptual apparatus was recently discussed in detail by leading German and Anglophone specialists on international right-wing extremism in the fifteenth and sixteenth volumes of the German journal *Erwägen Wissen Ethik* (2004, nos. 3–4; 2005, no. 4). Subsequently this discussion was reprinted as a five-hundred-page collection of articles.[12] Henceforth, therefore, I shall present Griffin's terms and definitions only in brief.

The present article is based on the existing secondary literature.[13] I have tried to go farther than previous investigations by means of the grounded application of Western general concepts to the conceptualization of the ideologies of the two aforementioned organizations. Thus, these formations are not described again here. Instead, I touch on certain conceptual-terminological and discourse-analytic problems of the interpretation of Russian ultranationalism.

Stephen Shenfield's similar but more detailed attempt at a classification of Russian ultranationalism seems very successful as regards empirical substantiation of the comparative study of right-wing extremism in the RF.[14] However, this factologically rich book, due to its partly diffuse and partly contradictory definition of fascism, in the final analysis leaves open the questions of exactly why some nationalist organizations in Russia should be called "fascist" and others not and of how a number of specific features of Russian integral anti-democratism should be interpreted.[15]

My classification of two contemporary political ideologies in the RF as "fascist" is not intended to stigmatize the members of the corresponding organizations. The term "fascism"—as a general concept and not as the proper name of a particular Italian ideology—is used here as a category of political science to provide an adequate scientific categorization of the ideas of the leaders of the given organizations from a comparativist point of view.[16] The nonscientific connotations of this word ("evil," "inhumanity," and so on) play no role.

Griffin's Definition of Fascism

Roger Griffin's concept of fascism as used in this article—the well-known formula "palingenetic (that is, striving for *new* birth rather than for *re*birth)[17] ultranationalism"—differs in many respects from the Marxist attempt at a definition of fascism[18] and resembles the treatment of fascism by such Anglo-Saxon comparativists as George Mosse, Stanley Payne, and Roger Eatwell.[19] In Germany Griffin's theory of fascism is closest to the interpretation of fascism by Wolfgang Wippermann,[20] which is also based on a comparative approach, regards ideology as a decisive factor, and is known in Russia.[21] Nevertheless,

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until recently Griffin's theory was relatively little known in Germany and was used by only a few researchers, including Michael Minkenberg and Sven Reichardt.[22] In the Russian context, Griffin's approach is, perhaps, closest to the theory of fascism of the leading specialist Aleksandr A. Galkin.[23]

Griffin defines fascism as a variety of extreme nationalism, and therefore as a form of right-wing extremism. At the same time, Griffin includes under "ultranationalism" a broad spectrum of ethnocentric, racist, culturalist, and even *supra*nationalist ideologies but excludes religious fundamentalism.[24] Fascism as a general concept, according to Griffin, differs from other ultranationalisms in its revolutionism—not only social and political but also cultural and anthropological. The core of fascism is the myth of the all-encompassing new birth (rejuvenation, purification, resurrection, etc.) of a nation, however defined, or of a supranational community, however demarcated.

Mimetic Fascism: Barkashov's Neo-Nazism

RNU in the Russian and Western Vision of Post-Soviet Russia

RNU is undoubtedly the Russian fascist organization that as such attracted in the 1990s the greatest attention among Russian and Western researchers interested in Russian fascism; therefore I do not describe it in detail here.[25] Moreover, RNU has served for various commentators of general political developments in Russia as the clearest example of Russian fascism. In some commentaries, Russian fascism is equated with RNU and groups similar to it. In addition, many patriotically inclined Russian observers (who do not sympathize with RNU) point to Barkashov's organization as a phenomenon that not only embodies Russian fascism in general but also symbolizes its social marginality. Russian journalists have sometimes used references to the isolation and dubious nature of RNU to illustrate some sort of immunity of most Great Russians to fascism. As RNU has split in recent years into six small groups (and as other "parties" of the same kind have never become at all politically viable), these interpretations convey the impression that fascism has lost any significance as a political factor on the national scale. As I show, such an assessment of the current political potential of revolutionary-ultranationalist tendencies in the RF, by reference solely to RNU and groups similar to it, seems premature.

RNU as an Imitation of Foreign Fascisms

RNU—with its slightly modified swastika, Roman salute, black uniform, militarized organizational structure, racist ideology, and eugenicist plans—may

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readily be identified as one of the many international varieties of neo-Nazism. Demonstratively copying Nazism and, to a lesser degree, Mussolini's movement and the Romanian Iron Guard, RNU at first glance provides grounds for rejecting any comparison between post-Soviet Russia and the Weimar Republic in view of the obviously unequal weight of RNU and the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) in the corresponding societies.

In fact, as I show, RNU is a social phenomenon that still awaits adequate interpretation. The outward appearance of RNU and its palpable presence for a time in a number of Russian provincial centers (for instance, Voronezh, Krasnodar, Orel, and Vladivostok) in the 1990s tended to mislead both Russian and Western discussion of the political potential of Russian fascism. This confusion arises because, despite their external similarity, RNU is not a historical phenomenon analogous to the NSDAP. Moreover, RNU does not represent a *politically* full-fledged variety of neo-Nazism.

First, RNU can be compared with the NSDAP only conditionally, because it belongs to a different subtype of fascism as a general category. Whereas the ideology and symbolism of the NSDAP reflect a specifically German type of fascism and therefore a variety of *autochthonous* palingenetic ultranationalism, RNU must be assigned to the class of *mimetic* fascisms. The worldview, program, and outward appearance of RNU are largely outside the bounds of the nationalist traditions of Russia and obviously imitate foreign fascisms—above all, German Nazism; they are not an authentically Russian expression of palingenetic ultranationalism (although, of course, RNU denies this). From this perspective, RNU may in some ways be compared with the British Union of Fascists and National Socialists of Sir Oswald Mosley. Precisely because it so clearly duplicates the ideas and style of the NSDAP and, to a lesser extent, of the Partito Nazionale Fascista and the Iron Guard, RNU cannot be included with them in the category of intellectually and historically authentic ultranationalisms. Admittedly, the latter also adopted certain "borrowings" from abroad. These transfers, however, concerned political rhetoric, strategy, tactics, or political style rather than basic features of the worldviews, programs, or symbolism of the corresponding foreign examples.

Thus, in the comparison between post-Soviet Russia and the Weimar Republic RNU is a "false friend" of the comparativist.[26] RNU only *seems* to be an obvious connecting link between interwar Germany and present-day Russia.[27] In fact, in RNU we have a political paradox, whose social role rather resembles certain unsuccessful and therefore little-known attempts to copy Mussolini's movement in interwar Europe. In the best case, we may speak of some sort of similarity between RNU and interwar fascist groups among Russian émigrés in Manchuria, the United States, and Western Europe.[28] These ephemeral parties, however, were also a result of far-reaching imitation of

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Italian, German, and other non-Russian models; they did not play any kind of significant role, and only recently have they become relatively known in Russia itself.[29]

RNU as a Caricature of Fascism

Apart from the impossibility of comparing the political role of RNU in Russia with that of the NSDAP in interwar Germany, RNU can also be compared only conditionally with the aforementioned British Union of Fascists and National Socialists in interwar Britain, the prewar imitative parties in the Russian emigration, neo-Nazism in postwar Germany, and other mimetic forms of fascism. This conclusion follows from the difference in historical context: the British Union of Fascists and National Socialists and the prewar Russian imitators of Mussolini and Hitler could, and present-day German neo-Nazis can, with a certain degree of legitimacy point to some "positive" aspects of the fascist regime in Italy and of the Third Reich. Such references to a supposedly non-German and supratemporal positive role for Nazi ideas seem, to put it mildly, problematic in the postwar Russian context. The role or legacy of the Third Reich for present-day Russia is, obviously, different from the significance that interwar Nazism might have had for British revolutionary nationalists and Russian émigrés at that period or that may be attributed to it (also, of course, not without certain difficulties) in present-day Germany.[30]

For these reasons, an adequate interpretation of the relatively high organizational potential of RNU in the 1990s has to be more complex than many investigations of Russian right-wing extremism assume. I cannot propose here a final resolution of this problem; I merely mention a few possible directions for future research into Russian neo-Nazism.

Counterculture, Men's Club, Source of Employment, Groupuscule?

An approach proposed by Markus Mathyl in 2000, although not oriented primarily toward RNU, is pertinent to post-Soviet Russian right-wing extremism and productive in this context.[31] In an original article in the Berlin *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung* [Yearbook for the Study of Anti-Semitism], Mathyl describes the emergence of a specifically post-Soviet countercultural movement that:

—radically rejects both the Soviet and the Western model;

—has a marked antisystem and in part antipolitical character; and

—links socially alienated elements of the youth, music, literary, artistic, and intellectual scene.

It seems justified to place RNU in the context of the Russian post-Soviet

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counterculture inasmuch as the Barkashovite use of the symbols of the Third Reich was an especially impudent challenge to Russian political correctness. From this point of view, RNU may be regarded as one of the nonconformist movements and currents within the youth culture rather than as a full-fledged component of the ideological and political-party landscape of the RF.

In this way a connection is established with such other concepts from international research into right-wing extremism as "uncivil society" and "groupuscule." Although RNU has striven several times to participate both in federal and regional elections and in gatherings and electoral blocs of Russian right-wing extremists, the success of such attempts at integration into the nationalist spectrum has been limited to a few special cases like RNU's participation in the armed conflict of October 1993 on the side of Yeltsin's ultranationalist opponents (Vladislav Achalov, Albert Makashov, etc.). On the whole, RNU has remained relatively isolated and excluded from important political processes such as elections at the federal level or large congresses of nationalists.

It follows that RNU is a phenomenon belonging more to civil—or, more precisely, "uncivil"—society than to the *political* society of the RF in the narrow sense.[32] The temporarily strong appeal of RNU, especially to young Russian males with a low level of education, was evidently based only in part on the political plans of RNU for the time after its conquest of power. RNU must have owed its power of attraction, to a greater extent than organizations representing autochthonous forms of Russian nationalism, to nonpolitical factors such as its provision of:

—a milieu for communication with peers;

—training courses (hand-to-hand combat, shooting);

—various opportunities to make money (as security guards or debt collectors, racketeering, robbery, and so on); and

—opportunities for social growth within the organization.

As these aspects of the activity of RNU are described in detail in the above-mentioned sources (although still insufficiently interpreted), I do not dwell on them here.

In this article it is impossible definitely to determine whether RNU may nonetheless be understood as at least a partly *political* phenomenon in the broad sense—that is, for instance, as a component not of the party-political but of the groupuscular right (as Griffin uses the term).[33] RNU has a number of the characteristic features of a groupuscule, such as introversion, alienation from society, and extreme ideologization. In the 1990s, however, RNU was too large to be called a "groupuscule"; it was also (with rare exceptions) too isolated both from Russian and from international right-extremist structures to be considered part of the Russian or European network of such groups.

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RNU as a Parapolitical Phenomenon

In opposition to the consensus on assessments of RNU cited above, in this brief interpretation I conclude that an unambiguous classification of RNU as a full-fledged Russian fascist party is problematic. In the 1990s this organization did not satisfy the criteria that would have justified classifying it as a significant party-political phenomenon. RNU's ideology does not meet the prerequisites for categorizing it as a historically grounded Russian variety of palingenetic ultranationalism. Thus, the often repeated assertion of RNU leader Barkashov that his organization does not embody Russian fascism is partly true: the program and symbolism of RNU really are not expressions of a radicalized Russian ideology. What nonetheless compels not only the anthropologist, culture studies specialist, or sociologist but also the political scientist to pay attention to RNU is its unexpectedly strong appeal to young males in the 1990s and the periodic penetration of individual former Barkashovites into respectable political parties—for example, the entry of former leading RNU figure Iurii Vasin into the People's Will [Narodnaia volia] party of Sergei Baburin, currently deputy chairman of the State Duma for the Motherland [Rodina] bloc.[34]

The biological racist and anti-Semitic ideas of the German Nazis may be regarded as pathologies of the pre-Nazi German political culture that the Nazis took to an extreme. The ideology of the NSDAP was an extremely distorted but nonetheless consistent extension of certain specifically German historical-political and spiritual traditions.[35] By contrast, the ideology of RNU, which is clearly a copy of Nazism, and the racist fantasies of other Russian ultranationalists appear strange in light of the curious results to which their application to Russian history would lead. For example, the royal family and aristocratic elite over the centuries absorbed many individuals of Tatar, Baltic, and West European origin. The great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin, who created the modern Russian literary language and who is worshipped by Russian nationalists, is well known to have been of partly African origin.[36] Pushkin's great-grandfather, Abram Hannibal (1696?–1781), came from northern Abyssinia[37]—a fact that had a quite noticeable impact on the phenotype (important for racists) of the great Russian writer.[38]

RNU is of interest from the standpoint of political psychology in connection with its significant appeal to Russian youth. In the 1990s thousands of youngsters and grown men passed through RNU. Only at first glance does this organization seem just a primitive band unworthy of attention from the serious social scientist. The systematic treatment of RNU recently undertaken by Mikhail Sokolov therefore fills a gap in the study of social life in post-Soviet Russia.[39]

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Aleksandr Dugin's Eurasia: Neo-Rightist Metapolitics *à la russe*

While Barkashov outside and inside Russia is marked by a sort of label and has limited influence on the thinking of the Russian political mainstream, the mystic Aleksandr Dugin has in recent years succeeded in entrenching himself at the center of the political, academic, and intellectual establishment of the RF and in cultivating important international ties.[40] As a number of recent articles have examined in detail both the content of Dugin's ideology and his growing influence, I focus here on conceptual questions in the interpretation and classification of Dugin's ideas.[41]

Dugin—a Contemporary Eurasianist?

Before his entry into the political establishment at the end of the 1990s Dugin often used such concepts as "national-Bolshevism" and "conservative revolution" to characterize his own ideology, but in recent years he has shifted the emphasis to the concept of "Eurasianism" or "neo-Eurasianism."[42] In all likelihood, the replacement of the first two radical-sounding concepts by advocacy of a "Eurasian" orientation for Russian policy follows the well-known pattern of right-wing extremists to one degree or another adapting their rhetoric to the mainstream discourse as they join the establishment.[43] Such behavior should probably not be interpreted as change in the essence of the ideology of these figures; it merely expresses their desire to be accepted in ruling circles. It might therefore seem unnecessary to pay attention here to such a shift in Dugin's mode of self-presentation.

If I do nonetheless dwell briefly on the concept of "neo-Eurasianism," that is because most Russian and many Western observers view this self-designation of Dugin's movement as a more or less adequate scientific characterization of the ideas of Dugin and his entourage.[44] As I have argued before, this is an unfortunate perception—not only because it obscures other, more important sources of Dugin's ideology, but also because it distorts the legacy of classical Eurasianism.[45] Notwithstanding a recent assertion of A. James Gregor concerning Dugin, Dugin's own designations, of course, cannot and must not be completely ignored.[46] But one should not always accept at face value the self-designations of extremists (and, probably, of politicians in general) that have a rather positive connotation in a specific national discourse.

In the Russian context, the term "neo-Eurasianism" possesses just such a connotation. This concept enables Dugin not only to associate himself with a highly authoritative group of Russian émigrés of the 1920s and the 1930s but also to imply a rejection of ethnocentric particularism. In the context of Dugin's

ideology, however, both characterizations are misleading. It must be presumed that Dugin deliberately encourages such erroneous interpretations, and that precisely this is the main purpose of his loud praise for the classical Eurasianists. By attempting to demonstrate a connection with the classical Eurasianists, Dugin evidently wishes to enhance the significance of his own pamphlets, because among the Eurasianists there were a number of social scientists, linguists, and other scholars of international stature who even today are cited in serious (including Western) scientific studies. In addition, Dugin clearly strives to pass off his ideology as a result of the development of the ideas of an indigenous *Russian* (albeit émigré) philosophical-historical school.

In fact, the resemblance between the works of the classical Eurasianists and Dugin's outpourings is confined to fragmentary passages—or, more correctly, to a few terms, to which, moreover, the Eurasianists and Dugin often assign different meanings. Not least does this apply to the very concept "Eurasia," which in terms both of geography and of culture not only has a broader meaning in Dugin than in the discourse of the eponymous Russian intellectual movement of the interwar period but is also used in an essentially different sense.[47]

True, classical Eurasianism was also markedly antidemocratic and radically anti-Western. Moreover, certain postulates of the Eurasianists (for instance, concerning "ideocracy") bore features of a protofascist ideology.[48] Nevertheless, for observers acquainted with the history of international right-wing thought "Duginism" has an obvious close kinship with world occultism,[49] with Western "traditionalism,"[50] and with varieties of interwar and postwar European fascism—above all, with (to use the expression of Stefan Breuer) the "new nationalism" that arose in Germany after World War I inside and outside the NSDAP[51] and with the "new right" of the cold-war period in Italy and France.[52]

Western Sources of Dugin's Ideology

In his works Dugin draws the picture of an ancient confrontation between the Atlantic oceanic powers ("talassocracies"), whose roots go back to the drowned continent of Atlantis and which are headed today by the mondialist United States,[53] and the Eurasian continental powers ("tellurocracies"), whose roots lie in the mythical country of "Hyperborea," the most important of which today is Russia. According to Dugin, the secret orders of these two antagonistic civilizations have fought an age-old struggle that is now approaching its resolution. This requires from Russia national rebirth through "conservative" and "permanent" revolution. This revolution must be guided by the ideology of "national-Bolshevism" and by a "geopolitical" approach

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to international relations. Dugin predicts that this will result in the emergence of a "new socialism," the territorial expansion of Russia, and the creation of a "Eurasian" bloc of fundamentalist continental powers (including, possibly, a "traditionalist" Israel!) as a counterweight to pernicious, individualistic, Anglo-Saxon imperialism.[54]

While Luks, for instance, demonstrates the close connection of Dugin's ideas with the German right-wing extremist thought of the Weimar Republic, in particular, with the so-called "conservative revolution,"[55] Clover, Tsygankov, Ingram, and Ignatov in one form or another emphasize the connection between Dugin's theories and the geopolitics of Ratzel, Kjellén, Mackinder, Mahan, and Haushofer.[56] Tsymburskii, Cremet, and Laruelle, for their part, are among those who note the influence of the aforementioned West European "new right."[57] A. James Gregor insistently points to the similarity between Dugin's theories and the ideas of Julius Evola—a similarity confirmed by the profound study of Mark Sedgwick, the leading specialist on Genon's "traditionalism."[58] As recently became clear in a discussion of the matter in the journal *Erwägen Wissen Ethik,*[59] Gregor stresses this similarity with a view to casting doubt on the fascist nature of Dugin's ideology, the ideas of Evola not being fascist in terms of Gregor's own idiosyncratic definition of fascism.[60] It must be presumed, however, that many experts on Evola's works will regard this argument of Gregor's as, on the contrary, a weighty argument in favor of characterizing Dugin's ideology precisely as fascist.[61]

The Essence of "Duginism"

While it may be asserted with a certain degree of confidence that Dugin's ideas draw on Western and other foreign sources rather than on Russian ones, the exact definition of his ideology represents a significant challenge, as is evident, for instance, from some of the lectures and articles of Markus Mathyl, a leading German expert on Dugin's works.[62] Although the esoteric reflections of Dugin—notwithstanding his own claims—bear little relation to science and many of his works bear the imprint of mysticism, one has to acknowledge Dugin's erudition and give him his due for his—admittedly, often curious—attempts to synthesize a multitude of philosophical and political ideas. All this permits us to qualify the concept "Eurasianism" as at best an inadequate characterization of his ideas. Finding a precise and apt concept that will encompass his eclectic ideas (if this is even possible) is beyond the scope of this investigation.

Nevertheless, it is evident that Dugin's ideology is suffused with the idea of a new birth for Russia and may be regarded as an extreme form of a specifically Russian "supranationalism." Thus, according to Griffin's definition

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it represents a form of fascism. It should be added that Dugin himself in a number of his works, most clearly in the electronic version of his book *Templars of the Proletariat* [Tampliery proletariata],[63] has given various kinds of positive appraisals of fascism and expressed his closeness to it.[64] Here, in addition, it is already possible to identify Dugin's "neo-Eurasianism" as a specifically Russian variety of the ideology of Eurofascism[65] and to link its mode of behavior in recent years with the metapolitical strategy and tactic of "political mimicry" of the European "new right."[66]

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Conclusion

With regard to certain ideas set out in basic documents of RNU and of the Duginist organizations, we are definitely dealing with varieties of palingenetic ultranationalism. Admittedly, problems of interpretation arise in connection with changes in Dugin's rhetoric after his entry into the political establishment in 1998 and because of the too obvious imitation of foreign fascisms, especially German Nazism, by RNU. Nevertheless, these problems do not seem insuperable. Whether the proposals given above for resolving the contradictions in the development of these groups are satisfactory or not, it cannot be doubted that the central ideological elements in some of the most important works of Barkashov and Dugin and in certain documents of their organizations possess both clearly ultranationalist and unambiguously palingenetic features. Consequently, the qualifier "fascist" (in Griffin's sense) is applicable to them—at least in respect of the period when these documents were drafted and published. As against numerous cases of the evolution of extreme leftists into social democrats, liberal democrats, national democrats, or even right-wing antidemocrats (for instance, Mussolini), world history provides fewer examples of the similarly profound transformation of former fascists into left-wing radicals, conservatives, or democrats of various stripes. The suspicion therefore arises that the category "fascism" is an apt description not only for particular documents produced by RNU and by Duginist organizations in the 1990s but also, possibly, for the present-day worldviews of Barkashov and Dugin as well as for the basic doctrines of the political activists and organizations that in one form or another continue the traditions of RNU and Eurasia in the new decade.

Notes

1. Thomas Parland, *The Rejection in Russia of Totalitarian Socialism and Liberal Democracy. A Study of the Russian New Right* (Helsinki: Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1993); Wendy Slater, "Imagining Russia: The Ideology of Russia's National Patriotic Opposition," Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1998.

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7. Andreas Umland, "Konzeptionelle Grundfragen vergleichender Rechtsextremismusforschung. Der Beitrag der Faschismustheorie Roger Griffins," *Erwägen Wissen Ethik,* vol. 15 (2004), pp. 355–57; Umland, "Einige Beispiele für die forschungspraktische Relevanz der Griffinschen Taxonomie," *Erwägen Wissen Ethik,* vol. 15 (2004), pp. 418–20.

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8. See, for example, the quotations from such authoritative investigators of fascism as George Mosse, Stanley Payne, and Richard Thurlow on the back covers of Griffin's books *The Nature of Fascism* and *Fascism.* Even critics of Griffin's understanding of fascism have granted the significance of his conception. See, for instance, Robert D. Pearce, *Fascism and Nazism* (London: Hodder Murray, 1997), p. 127: Griffin's *The Nature of Fascism* "is complex but does repay detailed study"; and Martin Blinkhorn, *Fascism and the Right in Europe, 1919–1945* (London: Longmans, 2000), p. 102: the new ideal type of fascism presented by Griffin "has unquestionably given a major new twist to our view and understanding of fascism."

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14. Stephen D. Shenfield, *Russian Fascism: Traditions, Tendencies, Movements* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001).

15. See my review of this book in *Europe–Asia Studies,* vol. 54, no. 3 (2002), pp. 488–90).

16. This specific methodological problem has led to the following rule for use of the word "fascism" in Anglophone comparativist research. "Fascism" with a capital "F" indicates a proper name and refers to the Italian prototype, while "fascism" with a small "f" refers to the abstract concept of an ideal type of generic fascism. Such a distinction cannot be made in German, where all nouns start with a capital letter. Those German scholars who recognize fascism as a general concept therefore sometimes draw a distinction between *Faschismus* and *Italofaschismus.* It is worth noting in this context that the German Nazis themselves did not regard the word "fascist" as a suitable qualifier for Nazi ideology. On the attitude of the early Third Reich to the Mussolini regime, see S.V. Siianova, "Obraz fashistskoi Italii v natsional-sotsialisticheskoi propagande, 1933 god," *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta,* Ser. 8: *Istoriia,* 2005, no. 2, pp. 28–49.

17. *Palingenesis* (from the Greek *pálin*—again, *génesis*—origin, birth): transformation or new birth. *In geology:* the transformation and extrusion of igneous rocks as a result of the melting of granites, gneisses, and slates in deep regions of the earth's core. *In biology:* the appearance in an embryo of traits characteristic of adult forms of remote ancestors. *In the history of ideas:* rebirth or new birth, resurrection, revolution.

18. For a recent critique of the Marxist understanding of fascism, see Wolfgang Pfeiler, "Der Begriff Faschismus als politisches Instrument und als wissenschaftliche Kategorie," in *Demokratie und Diktatur in Europa. Geschichte und Wechsel der*

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politischen Systeme des 20. Jahrhunderts, ed. Heiner Timmermann and Wolf D. Gruner (Berlin: Dunker and Humblot, 2001), pp. 97–106.

19. George L. Mosse, ed., *International Fascism, 1920–1945: New Thoughts and Approaches* (New York: Russell Sage, 2000); Mosse, *The Fascist Revolution: Toward a General Theory of Fascism* (New York: Howard Fertig, 2000); Stanley G. Payne, *Fascism: Comparison and Definition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Payne, *A History of Fascism, 1914–1945* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995). Recently this important monograph came out in German as *Geschichte des Faschismus: Aufstieg und Fall einer europäischen Bewegung* (Munich: Propyläen, 2001) (see the review by Armin Nolzen in the Internet journal *H-Soz-u-Kult,* 4 February 2002, http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/NG-2002-009/); Roger Eatwell, "Towards a New Model of Generic Fascism," *Journal of Theoretical Politics,* vol. 4, no. 2 (1992), pp. 161–94; Eatwell, *Fascism: A History* (London: Routledge, 1995); Eatwell, "On Defining the 'Fascist Minimum': The Centrality of Ideology," *Journal of Political Ideologies,* vol. 1, no. 3 (1996), pp. 303–19; Eatwell, "Zur Natur des 'generischen Faschismus'—Das 'faschistischer Minimum' und die 'faschistische Matrix,'" in *Rechtsextreme Ideologien,* pp. 93–122.

20. Wolfgang Wippermann, *Faschismustheorien: Zum Stand der gegenwärtigen Diskussion* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972); Wippermann and Hans-Ulrich Thamer, *Faschistische und neofaschistische Bewegungen: Probleme empirischer Faschismusforschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977); Wippermann, *Europäischer Faschismus im Vergleich, 1922–1982* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1983); Wippermann, *Faschismustheorien: Die Entwicklung der Diskussion von den Anfängen bis heute* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997); *"Faschismus"—kontrovers,* ed. Werner Loh and Wippermann (Stuttgart: Lucius and Lucius, 2002).

21. V. Vipperman [Wolfgang Wippermann], *Evropeiskii fashizm v sravnenii, 1922–1982,* trans. A. Fedorov (Novosibirsk, 2000) (http://lib.ru/POLITOLOG/fascio.txt); Umland, "Teoreticheskaia interpretatsiia fashizma i totalitarizma."

22. Michael Minkenberg, *Die neue radikale Rechte im Vergleich: USA, Frankreich, Deutschland* (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher, 1998); Sven Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbunde: Gewalt und Gemeinschaft im italienischen Squadrismus und in der deutschen SA* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002).

23. Aleksandr Galkin, "O fashizme—vser′ez," *Svobodnaia mysl′,* 1992, no. 5, pp. 13–23; Galkin, "Rossiiskii fashizm?" *Sotsiologicheskii zhurnal,* 1994, no. 2, pp. 17–27; Galkin, "Fashizm: korni, priznaki, formy proiavleniia," *Politicheskie issledovaniia,* 1995, no. 2 (26), pp. 6–15; Galkin and Iurii Krasin, "O pravom radikalizme v sovetskom obshchestve," *Obozrevatel′,* 1995, no. 12, pp. 52–58; Galkin, "Razmyshleniia o fashizme," in *Nuzhen li,* pp. 88–105; Galkin, "Fashizm kak bolezn′ obshchestva," Polit.ru, May 8, 2006 (www.polit.ru/lectures/2006/05/08/galkin.html).

24. Griffin, "Primacy of Culture." For comparison, see the treatment of religious fundamentalism as a variety of fascism by Walter Laqueur in his *Faschismus: Gestern, Heute, Morgen* (Munich: Propyläen, 1997).

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26. Stephen D. Shenfield, "The Weimar/Russia Comparison: Reflections on Hanson and Kopstein," *Post-Soviet Affairs,* vol. 14, no. 4 (1998), pp. 355–68; Shenfield, *Russian Fascism,* pp. 113–89, 264–66.

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65. Hans Werner Neulen, *Eurofaschismus und der Zweite Weltkrieg: Europas verratene Söhne* (Munich: Universitas, 1980); Benno Hafeneger, *Die "extreme Rechte"*

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